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Abstract

Hunting is a rural activity and attempts to influence it are often framed, in northern Europe, in terms of 'urban elites' seeking to impose their will on 'rural' cultures. Hunting cultures are the subject of this paper, but instead of focusing on their relationship with conservation, as most previous work has done, it explores their interaction with proposals to expand commercial hunting tourism to generate endogenous economic development in remote rural areas of Scotland and Finland. It does so by examining stakeholders' attitudes towards the potential for increased commercial hunting tourism in peripheral areas in Scotland and Finland. The paper identifies a neoliberal policy perspective that recasts such areas as 'resource peripheries' and outlines their dominant hunting cultures. Using qualitative, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, it explores the motives and means for dominant hunting cultures to exert 'frictional' resistance on attempts to 're-map' peripheral areas in ways which were perceived to work against their interests. The paper highlights the importance of taking account of the influence of dominant hunting cultures on attempts to introduce neoliberal economic development policies in resource peripheries, especially where they may have an impact on game resources. By demonstrating the frictional resistance that they can exert on such policies, it sheds light on a neglected aspect of hunting cultures. The paper suggests that, rather than demonstrating the limits of neoliberalism, these northern peripheries are increasingly its deliberately constructed 'other'. This is because Scotland's and, to lesser but growing extent, Finland's dominant hunting cultures are maintained by people who lives are led for the most part outside the 'northern periphery'.

Keywords	Hunting culture; hunting tourism; Scotland; Finland
Taxonomy	Cultural Landscape, Culture in Rural Development

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Dear Professor Woods

Thank you for provisionally accepting our paper ‘Hunting cultures and the ‘northern periphery’: exploring their relationship in Scotland and Finland’. My colleagues and I have pleasure in submitting the further revised version for consideration, along with a document setting out how we have responded to your and the reviewers’ comments.

We hope that the paper is now suitable for publication in the *Journal of Rural Studies*. We look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Yours sincerely

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Hunting cultures and the 'northern periphery': exploring their relationship in Scotland and Finland

Summary of changes made in response to editor's and reviewers' comments

(*numbered points are editor's comments*)

1) As suggested by Reviewer 1 it would be helpful to insert some further sub-headings to structure the text.

Matching sub-headings have been introduced into sections 5.1 and 5.2.

2) Reviewer 3 requests that the title of Scottish legislation referred to in the paper is corrected.

The Protection of Wild Mammals (Scotland) Act 2002 (along with the appropriate URL) has been cited in endnote 1.

Hunting cultures can influence neoliberal economic policy in northern peripheries

Hunting cultures can mount frictional resistance to northern peripheries' re-mapping

Northern peripheries can represent neoliberalism's cultural other, not its limits

Hunting cultures and the 'northern periphery': exploring their relationship in Scotland and Finland

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It does so by examining stakeholders' attitudes towards the potential for increased commercial hunting tourism in peripheral areas in Scotland and Finland. The paper identifies a neoliberal policy perspective that recasts such areas as 'resource peripheries' and outlines their dominant hunting cultures. Using qualitative, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, it explores the motives and means for dominant hunting cultures to exert 'frictional' resistance on attempts to 're-map' peripheral areas in ways which were perceived to work against their interests.

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1 Introduction

In northern Europe, cultural factors are often at the forefront of debate over hunting. Game hunting is a rural activity and attempts to influence it are often framed in terms of 'urban elites' seeking to impose their will on 'rural' cultures. Such framings were identified in studies of the successful campaign to ban hunting with dogs in Great Britain[1]. A key tactic used by opponents was to argue that such a ban represented a threat to rural cultures (Anderson, 2006; Milbourne, 2003a; 2003b; Woods, 2005: 217). Similar framings have been identified in Nordic countries, where certain predators – especially wolves – are killed illegally by hunters who regard the level of their protection as unjustified (Bisi et al. 2007; Krange and Skogen, 2011; Pohja-Mykrä, 2016; Pohja-Mykrä and Kurki, 2014; von Essen and Allen, 2017; von Essen et al. 2015). Refusals to accept the protection and even, in some areas, the presence of wolves are expressed in terms of rural resistance to the imposition of outsiders' values: such as those of conservationists (Krange and Skogen, 2011: 477; von Essen, 2015) and national and European Union policy makers (Bisi et al. 2007: 305; von Essen et al. 2015). This, in turn, resonates with research in England and Wales, which has identified 'important connections between nature, rurality and hunting' (Milbourne, 2003a: 169) and documented hunting's role as a powerful agent of socialisation in rural communities (Cox et al. 1994). The strength of this relationship has led prosperous rural in-migrants either to take up hunting, or to refrain from criticising it openly, in order to 'fit in' (Heley, 2010; Milbourne, 2003b).

Hunting cultures are the subject of this paper. However, instead of focusing on their relationship with conservation, it explores their interaction with proposals to expand commercial hunting tourism[2] to generate endogenous economic development in remote rural areas of Scotland and Finland. This exploration draws on the findings of the research project 'Sustainable hunting tourism - business opportunity in Northern Europe', which was funded by the European Regional Development Fund's Northern Periphery Programme 2007-13 (http://northernperiphery.eu/en/home/). Finland and Scotland were selected for comparison as

they represent the opposite ends of the commercialisation of hunting in Northern Europe. In Scotland commercial hunting tourism is well developed, while in Finland it is still in its initial phase (Matilainen and Keskinarkaus, 2010).

Given the cultural salience of hunting, part of the project examined stakeholders' attitudes towards it and to a possible expansion of commercial hunting tourism; it is these results that are discussed here. The main aim of this paper is to demonstrate how hunting stakeholders can exert 'frictional' resistance (q.v. Hayter and Barnes, 2012) on attempts to promote endogenous economic development in the northern periphery through an expansion of commercial hunting tourism. In doing so, it will provide new evidence on the influence of hunting cultures in Europe's northern peripheries. The paper also problematises the cultural-geographical dichotomy between 'rural insider' and 'urban outsider' that is prominent in many discussions of hunting cultures. It is structured as follows. Section two discusses the economic policy context for Europe's northern periphery and the concept of 'frictional' resistance to neoliberal prescriptions for endogenous economic development. Section three outlines the dominant hunting cultures in Scotland and Finland. Sections four and five set out the data collection methods and the main findings. The findings are discussed in section six, while the conclusion reflects on them in the context of the issues raised above.

2 Economic development and the northern periphery

From a neoliberal economic development perspective, peripherality is usually interpreted as a problem to be overcome. Peripheral rural areas are remote from the urban economic core. Their relatively small, dispersed populations mean that they: lack easy and cheap access to markets; suffer from 'thin institutional structures, narrow business networks, limited local embeddedness' (Jauhiainen and Moilanen, 2012: 119); and have comparatively low levels of investment in research and development (Ramsey et al. 2013: 341-2). To overcome these

disadvantages, ‘an approach emphasising local responsibility has gained currency, with a strong focus on the regenerative powers of capital’ (Conradson and Pawson, 2009: 77).

This neoliberal approach has frequently been manifested in policies and research that encourage and support the commercialisation of material and cultural resources to create branded commodities unique to the area; the aim being to sell them at a premium compared with generic, mass-produced products. The combination of a price premium and a greater share of the added value being retained in the area will, it is argued, generate endogenous economic development. This was codified by Ray (1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2000) as the ‘culture economy’ approach to economic development. Although associated primarily with food and drink products (e.g. Ilbery and Kneafsey, 1998, 1999; Parrott et al. 2002), it is also applicable to other tangible commodities (e.g. Kneafsey et al. 2001) and to services such as tourism. Indeed, some areas, such as the West Coast of New Zealand’s South Island, have turned peripherality to competitive advantage by emphasising their ‘unspoilt’ environment when marketing export commodities (such as dairy produce) and their attractiveness as a tourist destination (Conradson and Pawson, 2009).

Thus, neoliberal economic development policies cast peripheral areas of the Global North as ‘resource peripheries’. This categorisation has been developed, notably in the work of Hayter and Barnes (Hayter et al. 2003; Hayter and Barnes 2012), to emphasise commonalities in the experiences of peripheral areas whose endowments of natural capital become the focus of economic activities and policy emanating from core areas. Drawing on Tsing’s (2005) study of Indonesia’s ‘resource frontier’, Hayter and Barnes (2012) argue that any attempt to implement in resource peripheries economic policies from the core will tend to involve a process of ‘remapping’, whereby: ‘[m]aps of landownership, control, and use are reshuffled; boundaries are redrawn; and the material landscape is sometimes dramatically remade’ (Hayter and Barnes, 2012: 203). Thus, attempts to impose neoliberal economic development policies on resource

peripheries will tend to involve the disruption of extant social, cultural and economic relationships and norms. The disruption caused by neoliberal re-mappings of resource peripheries appears to generate two main types of response. It may be welcomed by those who view it as providing opportunities for them to 'attain traditional markers of success and increase their social standing' (Silva and Motzer, 2015: 67). Conversely, it can generate 'friction', where the 'aspiration to free market neoliberalism grates against the institutional and material form of a given local site, creating particular types of connections, responses, and clashes' (Hayter and Barnes, 2012: 202). From their study of attempts to impose neoliberal policies on the forest peripheries of British Columbia (Canada), Tasmania (Australia) and North Island (New Zealand), Hayter and Barnes (2012: 203) argue that the best means for understanding the sources of such friction is to consult institutional stakeholders, as they will tend to 'make explicit at the local level what neoliberalism rubs against when it creates friction'. Hayter et al. (2003) place these stakeholders into four main groups: economic, environmental, geopolitical and cultural (see also Hayter and Barnes, 2012: 203).

For Hayter and Barnes (2012), the frictional resistance of key stakeholders to the imposition of neoliberal policies does two things. First, it demonstrates that resource peripheries are where neoliberalism encounters 'geographic limits'. Secondly, it creates hybrid and possibly alternative ways of thinking and doing economic activity that could form a basis for what comes after neoliberalism (Hayter and Barnes, 2012: 217). However, other studies of economic development in resource peripheries point to a more cautious interpretation. First, they caution against over-drawing the similarities both between and within resource peripheries (see, respectively, Horsley, 2013; Kortelainen and Rannikko, 2015). As demonstrated in studies of mining in the Pilbara region of Western Australia (Horsley, 2013), of tourism in Namibia's Uibasen Conservancy (Silva and Motzer, 2015), and of forestry in Russian Karelia (Kortelainen and Rannikko, 2015), both the re-mapping and the frictional resistance identified by Hayter and Barnes tend to be manifested differently in different areas. Secondly, by focusing on a resource

periphery that does not have a history of colonial rule, Kortelainen and Rannikko (2015) demonstrate that not all of the four groups of stakeholders mentioned by Hayter and Barnes (2012) need to be present in order for frictional resistance to occur.

It can be argued, therefore, that frictional resistance to the re-mapping of a given resource periphery through the actual or potential imposition of neoliberal economic development policies will vary according to local context, the type of natural capital under consideration and which groups of stakeholders are associated with it. Given that the form of natural capital under consideration here is wild game, a logical strategy, when exploring the potential to generate endogenous economic development in the northern periphery by increasing the amount of commercial hunting tourism, was to examine the potential for hunting stakeholders to generate frictional resistance to such developments. Such an examination forms the central focus of later sections. However, given the cultural significance of hunting in the northern periphery, it is necessary first to outline the dominant hunting cultures in Scotland and Finland.

3 The dominant hunting cultures in Scotland and Finland

Williams (1989) argued that culture comprises, and is constantly being re-shaped by, the shared meanings and practices of different social groups. Thus, in '*all* forms of social activity' (Williams, 1981: 13; original emphasis), culture is defined as a signifying system through which social activities are 'communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored' (p. 13). It can therefore be argued, following Milbourne (2003a; 2003b), that there are hunting cultures: distinct sets of practices into which participants are socialised and which they perform and communicate to others (see also Cox et al. 1994; Heley, 2010). These cultures change over time through repeated performance and representation, and in response to various internal and external factors. Cultures, therefore, are not fixed but are in a state of 'becoming'.

Williams (1977) also argued that, where cultures co-exist, this tends to be on unequal terms. The dominance of a given culture is evident in tradition: 'an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification' (Williams, 1977: 115). A dominant hunting culture, therefore, can be defined as a set of traditional practices that can be shown to have the most powerful influence on how hunting is practiced and represented. The following sub-sections identify and outline Scotland's and Finland's dominant hunting cultures.

3.1 Scotland: sporting estate hunting culture

Hunting occurs across much of rural Scotland. A variety of game is taken in a variety of ways and interviewees (q.v. section four) confirmed that there are numerous hunting cultures. Nevertheless, almost all took the view that the dominant hunting culture is that of the 'sporting estate'. Although lacking official definition, sporting estates are recognised as large land holdings dedicated primarily to hunting and fishing: for red grouse (*Lagopus lagopus*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) and Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*) (Jarvie and Jackson, 1998: 28; MacMillan et al. 2010: 26). Indeed, the widespread distribution of the first two species means that they dominate wildlife management in Scotland (Warren, 2009: 174).

Originating in the late eighteenth century, sporting estates expanded rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth (Jarvie and Jackson, 1998; McKee et al. 2013: 64). They now number about 340 (Wightman, 2010: 163) and cover between 1.8 and 2.1 million hectares (MacMillan et al. 2010: 26; Wightman, 2010: 163), more than 40 per cent of all privately-owned land in Scotland. About half were inherited by their current owner (MacMillan et al. 2010: 29) and a large proportion of these is likely to have belonged to the same family since the nineteenth century (Jarvie and Jackson, 1998). They also display considerable management continuity (McKee et al. 2013; Samuel, 2000). The three key game species remain wild and are managed primarily indirectly through land management (though there is also some direct management, e.g. winter

culling of deer). Overall, therefore, the 'typical' Scottish sporting estate has not changed significantly since the nineteenth century (McKee et al. 2013: 79; Wightman et al. 2002: 56).

Language embodies this continuity. 'Field sports' is preferred to 'hunting': hence sporting estate. Deer are 'stalked' in largely treeless 'forests'; this usage apparently dating to a medieval definition of 'forest' as any land harbouring wild game (Warren, 2009: 179). The largest red grouse hunt – in terms of average land area devoted to it by shooting providers (PACEC, 2014: 77) – is the 'driven shoot', where 'beaters' flush the birds from cover so 'guns', stationed at 'butts', can shoot them. Hunters are 'guns' in the field and 'guests' elsewhere on the estate, regardless of whether they pay to hunt. These powerful traditions of size, ownership, land management and terminology make the sporting estate Scotland's dominant hunting culture.

The performance of this hunting culture is complex, so a brief summary must suffice here (for more detail see Lorimer, 2000; McKee et al. 2013). Most sporting estates own hunting rights on their land (though some land is sold without them) and many let them in whole or part. Some are leased, over the medium to long term, to syndicates, which usually undertake land management and pay rent in exchange for the right to hunt. In these respects, syndicates resemble Finnish hunting clubs (q.v. section 3.2). Hunting rights are also let for short periods (e.g. by the day or week) either by the estate, its land management agency or through a sporting agent.

PACEC (2014: 63) estimate that shooting tourism generates £38 million (€45.6M[3]) gross value added (GVA) annually, and supports £200 million (€240M) GVA and about 8,800 full-time equivalent jobs in Scotland. These totals are not accounted for wholly by sporting estates, as other land managers (e.g. farmers) run hunting enterprises. Nevertheless, sporting estates probably generate a significant proportion of that £38 million. This figure, in turn, represents about 20.7 per cent of the GVA for all Scottish sporting enterprises (Scottish Government,

2016b). By comparison, the GVA of Scottish agriculture in 2014 was £1,185 million (€1,422M) (Scottish Government, 2016a: 103).

Opportunities to hunt red deer and red grouse are limited. This is partly because much hunting is private. For instance, only about 54 per cent of all stags (not just red deer) and 18 per cent of hinds are shot by paying clients (MacMillan and Phillip, 2008: 195). PACEC (2014: 26) estimate that 600,000 people shoot in the UK. Assuming that the proportion of PACEC's (2014: 30) respondents from Scotland reflects the proportion of UK hunters living there, Scottish hunters number about 47,400, approximately 0.9 per cent of the population. However, as only about 17.5 per cent of UK hunters stalk deer (PACEC, 2014: 26), it is likely that fewer than 9,500 Scots do so, which equates to 0.18 per cent of the population. Moreover, hunting is expensive. Prices can be £75 (€90) per driven red grouse (Exclusively Scottish, nd) and £500 (€600) per red deer stag (Atholl Estates, 2017). Thus, access to Scottish sporting estate hunting culture is restricted to the better-off and, in the case of private hunting, the well-connected.

As the species that form the basis of sporting estate hunting culture are wild, they are not considered the legal property of an estate while alive. As sporting estates are not normally enclosed, deer often range across more than one (MacMillan and Leitch, 2008: 484; Mar Lodge Independent Review Panel, 2011: 12). Thus, while a deer carcass is the property of the holder of the hunting rights on the land where it falls (MacMillan and Leitch, 2008: 474), estates do not pay the cost of any grazing that such deer have done on others' land. Moreover, the value of a sporting estate is related to the quantity of game killed on it (MacMillan and Phillip, 2008: 195; Mar Lodge Independent Review Panel, 2011: 3). This has led to highly inflated values for what is often poor quality land (McKee et al. 2013: 66). Therefore, owners have an economic incentive to maximise deer numbers because each one shot is capitalised into the value of the estate, which may not have borne its full grazing costs, and a hunting tourist may have paid to shoot it (MacMillan and Leitch, 2008: 475). This has facilitated a doubling of Scotland's red

deer population, to more than 300,000, since about 1980 (MacMillan et al. 2010: 34; Warren, 2009: 176).

3.2 Finland: Nordic hunting culture

The dominant hunting culture in Finland is the 'Nordic' hunting culture (e.g. Willebrand, 2008; Liukkonen et al. 2007; Heberlein 2000; Keskinarkaus and Matilainen, 2010), where ecological sustainability, the social nature of the hunt, and appreciation of the 'wilderness' are central (Nygård and Uthard, 2009). This type of hunting has a long tradition in Finland and still plays a significant role in the lifestyle of many Finns. Around six per cent of the population (approx. 300,000 people) hold a hunting license (Suomen Riistakeskus, 2015) and in some rural municipalities this can rise to around 30 per cent. However, although the number of hunters is relatively stable, the proportion of hunters living in rural areas is gradually decreasing due to demographic ageing (Keskinarkaus et al. 2009).

The combination of the traditional role of hunting, the structure of rural land ownership (~60% is owned by 632,000 private, non-industrial forest owners (Finnish Forest Research Institute, 2014)), and extensive hunting club activities (Pellikka et al. (2007) estimate that there are more than 4,000 hunting clubs) has traditionally provided reasonably good leisure hunting possibilities for all social classes. Hunting rights usually go with land ownership, and about 40 per cent of Finnish hunters are landowners (Ermala and Leinonen, 1995). Landowners typically lease hunting rights to a local hunting club for a nominal rent. By leasing rights on contiguous holdings clubs create more viable hunting areas than the land of one owner usually affords. In addition to hunting, clubs undertake game management, population evaluations and surveillance of hunting in areas they rent. Hunting clubs may also sell hunting licenses to external customers, subject to agreement within the club and with relevant landowners.

All Finnish hunters have access to state-owned land, which is located mainly in Northern and Eastern Finland, and almost a third hunt on it (Liukkonen et al. 2007). Approximately 38,000 – 41,000 small game licenses (incl. grouse species) are sold annually for state land, mostly to independent recreational hunters (Matilainen et al. 2016; Zimoch et al. 2014). Residents of Northern Finland have free small game hunting rights on state land in their home municipality. This long-standing legal right enjoys strong support in Northern Finland but is politically delicate elsewhere, as residents of other Finnish regions and foreign hunters must buy a license to hunt on such land.

Non-state landowners have the right to withdraw access to game. However, local hunters can exert social pressure on them through the local community. In addition, the strength of national hunting organizations gives recreational hunters significant influence over hunting regulations, especially on state land. Hunters' organizations also have a strong role in safeguarding the interests of individual hunters (Keskinarkaus and Matilainen, 2010). Traditionally, political pressure to safeguard equal hunting opportunities has been high and the law states that hunting on state land should be granted primarily to those without reasonable hunting opportunities elsewhere.

As in Scotland, the dominant hunting culture emphasizes the wildness of the game. The most valued species are moose (*Alces alces*), capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*), black grouse (*Lyrurus tetrix*), hazel grouse (*Tetrastes bonasia*), willow (red) grouse (*Lagopus lagopus*) and white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). However, legitimate bag expectations differ. In Finland, the aim is not to bag large amounts of game and trophy hunting is largely disapproved of.

Finnish hunting is dominated numerically by individual recreational hunters and culturally by local hunting clubs. Thus, hunting is perceived more as a leisure activity than a business opportunity (Keskinarkaus and Matilainen, 2010). Nevertheless, there are approximately 150-

200 hunting tourism enterprises (Keskinarkaus et al. 2009). These range from hunting tourism companies selling high quality hunting packages to those offering hunting as an additional holiday activity. Practically all are micro-enterprises operating on a seasonal basis. Typically, hunting is just one nature tourism activity offered. Hunting tourism entrepreneurs do not necessarily own the land used in their business activities but operate on state, hunting club and private land. Hunting tourism exists primarily for moose and grouse, though mountain hare (*Lepus timidus*) and waterfowl are also taken. Although the commercial hunting tourism sector is relatively undeveloped, demand exceeds supply.

Two main groups of hunting tourists can be identified. The larger group consists of domestic tourists who hunt on state land, mainly in Eastern and Northern Finland. Typically, these are independent hunters who buy their licenses directly and organise their own trips. These 'independent permit hunters' (Matilainen et al. 2016) typically buy only basic services (e.g. accommodation, food and drink) during their hunting trip. However, they number 35,000 – 38,000 annually and their expenditure can represent a significant income for rural areas. It has been estimated that hunting tourism based on small game licenses generated €5.86 million for Eastern Lapland (in north-east Northern Finland) in 2008 (Matilainen et al. 2016). Assuming a similar multiplier effect throughout Northern Finland, the total economic effect of independent small game permit hunters to the region could be approximately €32.1 million annually.

The second group of hunting tourists typically consists of foreign or business customers who organise their trip via a sales organisation or travel agency. They usually buy hunting packages, which may include additional services like guiding and sauna. This group, and its economic impact, are small. However, companies providing high added value hunting tourism products are 66 per cent more effective in generating regional income than independent permit hunters (Matilainen et al. 2016). Therefore, from an economic development perspective, improving and

developing new high quality hunting tourism products would seem to be the most effective strategy.

4 Material and methods

Our exploration of stakeholders' attitudes towards hunting and a possible expansion of commercial hunting tourism in peripheral areas of Scotland and Finland located powerful sources of friction articulated through the areas' dominant hunting cultures. Given their differences from one another, and from the resource peripheries discussed by Hayter and Barnes (2012), the latter's stakeholder model, consisting of governments, industry, environmental NGOs and native aboriginal groups, was not appropriate (cf. Kortelainen and Rannikko, 2015). Instead, and in consultation with stakeholders, interviewees were sought who could be 'located' in one or more of the following groups: national and local government; (hunting) tourism enterprises and representative bodies; landowners and their representatives; and those with a direct interest in wildlife/game conservation and/or hunting. Interviewees were recruited through purposive sampling (Patton, 2002) from discussions with known experts, consultation of previous studies (e.g. Matilainen, 2007) and 'snowballing'. The number of interviewees by main category is shown in Table 1. The fourth category is sub-divided to take account of differences between the two countries. For example, in Finland representatives of environmental NGOs were not interviewed as these bodies do not question hunting in general (probably due to its popularity) or game population sizes, in contrast to the situation in Scotland (Newey et al. 2010). Instead, regional game management administrators were interviewed, as they represent the game population's welfare. The categories are not mutually exclusive but reflect the main function of the interviewee or the organisation they represent.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in national languages using a common topic guide, which was compiled in English and translated into Finnish. This ensured that the same topics were covered in each country while retaining flexibility to focus on issues of importance to

interviewees (Legard et al. 2003). The main topics were: the variety and extent of hunting in each country; attitudes towards hunting held by the interviewee and/or the group they represent; the consequences of hunting; the potential for an expansion of commercial hunting tourism; and the conditions necessary for such an expansion to occur. The range and number of interviews conducted (see Table 1) allowed for the topics to be covered in appropriate breadth and depth (Charmaz, 2012) and for unanticipated issues to arise. Interviews were conducted face-to-face or by telephone, and audio-recorded, with transcripts imported into NVivo for analysis. Thematic analysis was based on axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 124), the main categories being defined around the interview topics. Subcategories were developed around the socio-economic and land management aspects of hunting as these were identified as having an important influence on the potential for hunting tourism to expand.

	Number of interviewees	
Stakeholder group	**Scotland**	**Finland**
National or local government	3	5
(Hunting) tourism enterprises and their representative bodies	10	8
Landowners and their representative bodies	5	7
Those with a direct interest in animals		
- Hunters and game managers	2	8
- Wildlife conservationists	4	-
- Animal welfare organisations	1	-
Total number of interviewees	**25**	**28**

Table 1. Interviewee numbers and main categories

5 Dominant hunting cultures and the 'remapping' of the periphery

This section explores the relationship between the dominant hunting cultures and the economic, environmental and political dimensions of efforts to re-map peripheral areas in Scotland and Finland. Given their differences, each country is discussed separately. However, to facilitate comparison both discussions are structured around the economic and environmental aspects of,

and sources of friction generated by, proposals to re-map these northern resource peripheries by expanding commercial hunting tourism.

5.1 Scotland

5.1.1 Economic aspects

Scottish interviewees emphasised the perceived economic impact of sporting estates. Two thirds stated that sporting estates are an important source of employment, especially in remote rural areas[4]. The same proportion (though not quite the same individuals) emphasised estates' economic multiplier effect. However, there was disagreement over whether there are opportunities to expand hunting tourism provision. About a third suggested that there is potential to increase tourists' involvement in the annual winter cull of red deer hinds. A hunting tourism stakeholder argued that this could bring in new and younger customers by offering them a challenging physical experience at reasonable cost. Others, however, were sceptical of its commercial potential, with several identifying difficulties in integrating hunting tourists with the cull. Scotland's growing roe deer population was considered as presenting an opportunity for increased hunting tourism, particularly in lowland areas. Few opportunities were identified for expanding the hunting of game birds (either individuals or species), though a few suggested that there may be an opportunity to increase the amount of walked-up shooting.

Instead, the main concern appeared to be with maintaining sporting estates' attractiveness to hunting tourists. Several interviewees said that non-sporting facilities required improvement, with one hunting tourism stakeholder being particularly concerned about the standard of accommodation:

> 'half the battle with a lot of the Scottish estates, the lodges [where hunting tourists stay], they are big old Victorian[5] places and they need bringing up into the twenty-first century…There has got to be an investment in the infrastructure...People…don't want

five-star luxury but they want plenty of hot water, and somewhere warm and dry to come home to'.

Some also expressed concern about the quality of customer service. For instance:

> 'you don't really want some grumpy old Highland stalker [hunting guide] who sort of hardly says a word from morning until night…And that's where the tourism aspect comes in, you have got to be able to relate to these people [hunting tourists] and make them feel welcome, and give them an experience that makes them want to come back'.

For some, improvements in both are needed because the sector operates in an international market and hunting tourists can go elsewhere if they are not satisfied with what is on offer in Scotland. For them, the traditional aspects of Scottish hunting tourism should continue to be emphasised but 'modern' levels of customer service need to be introduced.

Given the reported significance of Scotland's hunting tourism sector, it seemed surprising that about a third of interviewees claimed that the revenue generated rarely covers estates' costs. Indeed, one industry representative observed that their employer's research had found that about 70 per cent of hunting tourism providers make a loss. The situation seems acute for driven grouse. As a conservation stakeholder observed: 'it's very clearly established with grouse shooting: the more intensively you manage it for commercial reasons the more you lose'. While such perceptions are becoming less accurate – the proportion of sporting estates making a profit from grouse activities being higher in 2010 (at 42.6%) than in 2001 (17.6%) (Fraser of Allander Institute, 2010: 20) – most providers still lose money. The economic situation for deer hunting also seems problematic. One industry stakeholder estimated that their deer hunting activities lose about £10,500 [€12,600] annually. Moreover, they saw little prospect of an increase in venison prices; a point echoed by another industry representative. This, as MacMillan and Phillip (2008: 195) observed, is connected to pressure on venison prices from imports.

Some interviewees considered it inevitable that hunting requires subsidising. According to a land manager, this occurs in two main ways:

> 'you can subsidise it either by…being very wealthy and having money to burn – and there are lots of examples of that, and always have been, in Scotland – or by having a…group of [estate] businesses where there are enough profit centres to carry the loss centres, of which the sporting enterprise may well be one'.

This begged the question: why manage land for hunting when doing so usually incurs a net cost? Two rationales for doing so emerged. The first is that hunting tourism revenues provide some cost recovery for private hunting. This is consistent with MacMillan et al.'s (2010: 39) findings that '[t]he purchase and maintenance of sporting estates is primarily a lifestyle choice as it centres on the non-financial benefits that flow from ownership' and that 'virtually all owners maintain...a rigid adherence to "the romance" of traditional sporting management aims and practice'. In other words, the Scottish sporting estate is a large-scale example of what Marsden (1999) and others have called the consumption countryside.

Where the sporting estate was perceived as differing from other types of rural land management was in receipt of public funding. Several interviewees claimed that hunting land management represents a significant inward investment into rural Scotland. Moreover, they noted that this investment is undertaken at private expense, in contrast to upland farming and forestry, both of which receive public subsidy. Indeed, The Royal Society of Edinburgh (2008) concluded that agriculture in Scotland's Highlands and Islands is not sustainable economically, and recommended that land managers receive public payment for providing environmental benefits, such as carbon sequestration. By undertaking land management practices that maintain rural landscapes valued and visited by both hunting and non-hunting tourists (Stewart, 2006), interviewees argued that sporting estate owners supply public goods at private expense.

The second rationale for subsidising hunting is that bag numbers for the three key game species are capitalised into estate land values (Mar Lodge Independent Review Panel, 2011: 3; Vaughan, 2010). Thus, estate owners have an economic incentive to maximise the amount of hunting on their land. If they cannot do this through private hunting, leasing 'surplus' capacity to tourists, even at a net cost, can help maintain the estate's capital value. This is important because sporting estates are considered a good long-term investment (MacMillan and Leitch, 2008: 482). With limited supply, purchase prices in the millions and substantial running costs, sporting estate ownership is the preserve of a small, highly internationalised economic elite (Jarvie and Jackson, 1998). For this group, the 'romance' of running a sporting estate and the privacy that it affords (MacMillan et al. 2010: 37-9), combined with its soundness as an investment, are powerful cultural and economic incentives to maintain a status quo that has endured for more than 150 years.

5.1.2 Environmental aspects

A key characteristic of sporting estate management is the maintenance of large heather moorlands. A consequence of this is that other land uses, notably woods and forests, are sacrificed. This was interpreted as unnatural by some environmental stakeholders:

> 'Compared with lots of other countries...there is [almost] no natural tree line whatsoever, which implies there is something not quite right. Now, having said that, you have then also got this situation where the heather moorland that's been created, totally artificially, or certainly expanded artificially, by years of burning and...heavy grazing...'.

However, this was perceived as conservation by hunting sector stakeholders. One argued that:

> 'There is no evidence that it's producing environmental damage; on the contrary it appears to be producing healthy upland ecosystems which then provide a wide range of very acceptable ecosystem services, such as water filtration and water management'.

Some noted that it also benefits non-game species, including curlew (*Numenius arquata*) and lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*), whose UK numbers are declining. Thus, withdrawal of sporting estate land management could be damaging environmentally:

> 'let's for instance say that hunting tourism was removed,…game keeping was removed from an area: not only would you have degradation of habitat, for instance heather moorland, but you would have a reduction in predator control. Foxes wouldn't be being controlled so then that would have knock-on effects on other wildlife, which would then be more heavily predated upon, and suddenly the whole ecological balance is changing'.

There is force to such arguments. All the conservationist stakeholders interviewed acknowledged that heather moorland provides ecological benefits and that its removal would, in certain cases, result in habitat and landscape degradation. Historically, Sharp (2010: 104) argues that land management for game 'has helped to counteract the damaging effects of mainstream agricultural policy on biodiversity'. However, while sporting estates have not suffered the severe declines in biodiversity experienced on productivist farmland, two environmental stakeholders remarked that the management of heather moorland for driven red grouse shooting is, as one said, 'effectively a grouse monoculture'. Even one land manager reflected that maintaining driven grouse moors means 'managing...with one species in mind'. Grouse moor management depends on what a conservationist stakeholder termed 'very intensive predator control' and on the use of veterinary techniques such as the putting out of medicated grit to try to maximise bird numbers.

In conservation terms, a key challenge for grouse moor management is, as one hunting sector representative explained:

> 'the established association between managed grouse moors and either poor breeding success or…absence of certain birds of prey. So, from a conservation point of view,

there is some concern that there appears to be persecution of birds of prey taking place in areas commonly associated with grouse management'.

Another sector representative put the matter starkly: 'so far no way has been found of making hen harriers [*Circus cyaneus*] uncontrolled co-exist with grouse in any number at all'. Some estates have lobbied for the legalised control of some birds of prey in order to maintain driven grouse shooting. However, such efforts are resisted. For example, while acknowledging that the presence of hen harriers can adversely affect the management of grouse moors, a conservationist stakeholder said: 'the challenge for people that are involved with driven grouse moor management is to show that they can manage their sport sustainably and work within the law'. To be 'sustainable' in this context, grouse moor management must be able to produce a landscape that can support both driven grouse shooting and a population of birds of prey. Its ability to do so is doubtful (see, e.g. Baines and Richardson, 2013).

5.1.3 'Frictional' resistance

As noted in section 3.1, Scotland's red deer population has doubled since about 1980. This (implicit) land management strategy benefits estates by maintaining a large 'shootable surplus' (MacMillan and Leitch, 2008). However, it means that other land uses are sacrificed. For instance, there is little doubt that Scotland's lack of woodland cover is linked to deer numbers. The impact of deer on woodland is influenced by multiple factors, but one overall effect is clear: 'high densities of red deer can totally prevent the natural regeneration of native pine, oak and birch woods' (Warren, 2009: 324). As a conservationist explained:

> 'if you are trying to regenerate trees you need less than five deer per square kilometre...that's quite a low density and you have to walk quite a long way before you see any deer. Whereas a lot of estates that are managed for recreational shooting tend to have densities of between twenty and forty per square kilometre'.

In addition, interviewees noted that Scottish deer hunting is traditionally conducted in open country. As one put it, Scotland 'is different from anywhere in the world, because we have the

red deer out on the open hill and we have to…stalk them carefully and skilfully to get within…a safe comfortable rifle shot'. Thus, sporting estate hunting culture and, to some extent, Scottish hunting tourism, are predicated on low levels of woodland cover.

Current deer numbers are almost certainly incompatible with the Scottish Government's commitment to increase the proportion of woodland by 46 per cent, to 25 per cent of the Scottish land mass, between 2006 and 2050 (Natural Scotland, 2011: 9; Scottish Executive, 2006: 15). This policy goal appears to have generated considerable frictional resistance among sporting estate owners. For, in the decade since the target was set, Scotland's proportion of woodland cover increased by 7.6 per cent, to 18.4 per cent of the total land mass (Forestry Commission, 2016, 5). When surveyed in the late 2000s, most sporting estate owners were 'either unwilling or unable to shoot more deer in order to protect the natural heritage and were dismissive or antagonistic towards conservation arguments' (MacMillan et al. 2010: 34). Given their spatial extent, sporting estates would therefore seem, *pace* Munton (2009: S60), to be a leading source of resistance to the Scottish Government's policy to increase woodland cover.

5.2 Finland

5.2.1 Economic aspects

Finnish respondents reflected on the potential economic consequences of expanding commercial hunting tourism based on estimates of the revenue it could bring to rural areas. Economic issues were therefore seen as central when arguing for or against commercial hunting tourism. Respondents said that locals see how job opportunities have declined and admit that new sources of employment are essential. Existing tourism thus needs to develop so that it can generate new employment. For instance:

> 'When you think what kind of a country Finland is, terrain-wise and about the amount of forests, hunting tourism is one livelihood that people live off. There are a lot of areas like this and hunting tourism brings a big portion of business here';

> ‘It is important for the whole municipality. Now that the big generations are retiring and need services, if there are no resources, there are no services. If we arrange things so that more tax income flows to the area, then all increases through tourism are welcomed because then we can create service for the area.’

Entrepreneurs claimed that, to maintain economically sustainable hunting tourism businesses, they should be granted a quota of licenses to sell. However, independent recreational hunters fear the loss of their hunting possibilities if demand for, and the cost of, licenses increases. This is because all hunters ‘compete’ for the same lands, game and licenses. Given the ecological limit on sustainable hunting, licenses sold to one group will be deducted from the number available to others. Moreover, locals feared that if landowners saw that hunting tourists are willing to pay more for access, they would increase hunting lease costs. As hunting has traditionally been possible for most income classes, this was seen as threat to the dominant hunting culture. For example:

> ‘Most likely when one learns to appreciate one’s own land or forest and receive income, the price goes up’;
>
> ‘Our members have at least so far felt that hunting is one of the few countryside recreational activities that they have and the message has been that they don’t want to give it up for outsiders, at least not on a large scale.’

Hunting tourism was therefore described as a delicate issue, due mainly to the difficulty of balancing the interests of recreational hunters and hunting tourism businesses. However, respondents felt that people mostly understand that commercial hunting tourism can provide income and employment in rural areas. Moreover, direct income from hunting tourism used, for example, by hunting clubs to improve conditions for local hunters (e.g. building sheds and cool rooms), was seen as positive.

The social embeddedness of hunting activities was very important to all stakeholder groups, and there was concern that the dominant hunting culture could be 'disturbed by commercial hunting' with strong links to international markets. For example, tourists could 'free ride' on game management tasks undertaken by local hunting clubs. Some locals also felt that tourists practice unethical hunting, and told of them hunting by car and shooting large numbers of grouse. Local respondents also feared that if the number of hunting tourists increased it might spoil their 'wilderness' experience. Hunters were considered to be a group that seek quiet areas: 'The Finnish hunter, when he goes to hunt, [is] like me: when I decide to go somewhere and see a car there, I won't stay but go a kilometre further'.

Therefore, all the interviewed groups highlighted that the traditional hunting culture has to be the starting point for commercial hunting tourism activities and cannot be endangered. It is a central part of this culture to sit by the campfire, spend time with friends, walk in the wilderness and enjoy the scenery. The primary focus must not be the bag, although game must be present to make it a hunting trip. It was also highlighted that hunting tourism should not endanger Finnish people's hunting possibilities. Thus, paying attention to social issues and relationships was seen as an essential, if not the most important, condition for developing the commercial hunting sector. The interviewees, including SMEs, mentioned that entrepreneurs must pay as much attention to social issues as to profit.

5.2.2 Environmental aspects

The dominant hunting culture, especially in Northern and Eastern Finland, is forest-based. Thus, while small areas are managed to provide shelter and food for game, most hunting takes place on land managed primarily for forestry and timber production. There is discussion about whether land management should focus more on game (e.g. Svensberg, 2012), but at present this is a small trend. Forest management takes precedence, with other resources and activities, including hunting, often considered as by-products (Kangas and Kokko, 2001).

It was difficult, therefore, for interviewees to evaluate the effect of hunting on other land management activities. The majority thought that hunting and other forms of forest use support each other (e.g. controlling moose numbers to avoid damage to young forest stands) or are, at least, not incompatible. Respondents said that there are a lot of wilderness areas in Finland and that therefore hunting should not affect other land uses negatively. Moreover, hunters use forests when there are few other people there:

> 'Everyone circles the same areas but it has never been a problem. A berry picker has never been on my way during a hunt and likewise when I have been berry picking, hunters have not bothered me.'

However, when other livelihoods that have an impact on land management were discussed it emerged that two can conflict with hunting and hunting tourism. The first is reindeer herding in Lapland (Northern Finland). Reindeer herds are not monitored constantly and concern was expressed about hunters from outside the region being ignorant of the requirements of the reindeer herding area. In locals' opinion such hunters may disturb reindeer by hunting with dogs that may treat them as game. The second potential conflict was with wildlife watching in Eastern Finland. Bear viewing and hunting were not seen as compatible, especially at the end of August when they can occur simultaneously. Shooting a bear near a carcass put out to feed them (to attract them in for viewing) is illegal and a concentration of viewing cabins in a bear populated area was considered likely to provoke conflict between hunters and wildlife watching entrepreneurs. The latter also argued that the sound of gunfire frightens the bears. Hunters fear that feeding bears for viewing can lead to conflicts, as their behaviour changes, population density is growing high in some areas and they are becoming accustomed to humans: 'There are such problems especially regarding bears: they have been so fully catered that border officials agree that it is only a [matter of] time before something happens'.

In contrast to Scotland, Finnish hunting culture was not seen by respondents as having an impact on biodiversity or environmental sustainability. Hunting is regulated through restrictions on the hunting season and/or the number of licences issued annually. Moreover, the system for managing game populations enjoys high levels of trust: respondents spoke of the ecological limits of hunting in an unquestioned and absolute manner. They perceived that license numbers decided by the common system gave accurate information on sustainable game harvest levels and spoke of hunting tourism in the context of allocating permitted licences between different groups. No-one suggested increasing the total number of licenses, though some pondered methods of obtaining more accurate game population data. There were, however, fears that the diminishing number of local hunters would eventually reduce the amount of census data, since under the current system they collect it voluntarily: 'game stock calculations by game triangles will stop any day now since the people are ageing…'. All interviewees saw the natural abundance of game as the ultimate limit to hunting.

> 'It has been noticed that when the game population levels are low, the bag amounts are low and the other way around. Hunting does not regulate game population levels but game population levels regulate hunting.'

All interviewees saw that the game population must be managed to prevent environmental degradation, such as forest destruction. The current moose calculation system was seen as vague, but this was not thought to endanger ecological sustainability due to the buoyant moose population and the ability to adjust license numbers according to sightings. The areal pressure of hunting tourism was, however, viewed as a matter of concern related to ecological sustainability. A group of tourists should not be taken to the same location on consecutive days, because this will risk both the local game population as well as customer satisfaction. Grouse populations were seen to fluctuate primarily due to the number of predators (especially foxes), spring weather, global warming, and forest management activities, rather than hunting.

5.2.3 'Frictional' resistance

The main risk associated with an expansion of hunting tourism was seen to be tourists' unethical hunting practices. It was mentioned that news of any unethical behaviour by tourists or hunting tourism entrepreneurs would spread quickly and could easily stain the image of Finnish hunting.

> 'People here have a very respective attitude towards the law and they know that when something is forbidden, there is a logical reason for the regulation and also if something is permitted, there is a reason for that, too. So we can't be tempted to go into a customer-driven solution of shooting capercaillie from the road ... That's killing.'

Although it is not responsible for the dominant land use, Finnish hunting culture has a direct influence on land and hunting management. Hunting clubs and hunters play an important role in monitoring and controlling the population of several game species, most obviously moose and white-tailed deer, which can have a significant impact on woodland regeneration. The game population data they collect influences the number of hunting licenses issued each year. Thus, hunters help to define the ecological limit on hunting. Finnish hunters and clubs are also committed to safeguarding their traditional hunting culture.

In general, interviewees were concerned that an expansion of hunting tourism could lead to an influx of hunting tourists who would threaten the dominant hunting culture by: failing to understand and honour their traditions (e.g. concerning bag sizes and other forest land uses, such as reindeer herding in Lapland); increasing demand for, and hence the price of access to, hunting (e.g. by driving up ground rents); and undermining the 'wilderness' experience. Thus, Finnish hunters have cultural incentives to limit the expansion of hunting by 'outsiders', regardless of any economic benefits it might bring. Given that they are in a position to control game populations, and can bring social pressure to bear on landowners, it is clear that Finnish hunters and their clubs have both motive and means to restrict the expansion of hunting tourism.

6 Discussion

A key component of Hayter and Barnes's (2012: 216) argument is that attempts to re-map resource peripheries by imposing neoliberal economic development are 'contorted in various ways by cultural limits'. In their case study regions, cultural limits are imposed primarily by stakeholders for aboriginal native inhabitants, who mount frictional resistance to the areas' re-mapping by economic and political elites. The research reported here provides grounds for arguing that, in the peripheries of Scotland and Finland, similar processes are at work; though in both cases cultural limits are imposed through the frictional resistance generated by stakeholders representing the dominant hunting culture.

In Finland, the dominant hunting culture is strongly embedded in rural life and provides a powerful source of friction. Hunters' prominence in rural communities, and their roles in providing game population observations and undertaking game management, provide the means to restrict the growth of commercial hunting tourism. Thus, circumstances may arise where economic development opportunities in Finland's peripheral areas, predicated on an expansion of commercial hunting tourism that would maintain sustainable game populations, are not taken due to frictional resistance, through the application of social pressure, by hunters keen to preserve their traditional hunting culture.

Although the potential for expanding hunting tourism in Scotland's peripheral areas appears to be more limited, the dominant hunting culture is likely to retard its further commercialisation. Indeed, Scotland's dominant hunting culture may be even more conservative than its Finnish counterpart, with sporting estates undergoing little change in over 150 years. Such conservatism is bolstered by the capitalisation of game bags into estate values. Many sporting estates appear to view commercial hunting tourism as a means of offsetting some of the costs of maintaining private hunting grounds and of helping to maintain land values by keeping game bags up.

Therefore, sporting estates have both motive and means to restrict the expansion of commercial hunting tourism in peripheral Scotland.

Similarly, Scotland's dominant hunting culture appears to be exerting considerable frictional resistance on the Government's woodland expansion policy. Maintaining high numbers of wild red deer, which play a crucial role in maintaining sporting estate hunting culture, is incompatible with natural woodland regeneration and may therefore be incompatible with the Scottish Government's undertaking to increase the proportion of the total land mass covered by woodland to 25 per cent. For example, it is suggestive that the National Trust for Scotland (a major land-owning conservation body) funded an independent review of its management of a sporting estate to investigate the extent to which its attempt to foster woodland regeneration had reduced deer numbers to a level that seemed to be reducing game bags on neighbouring estates (Mar Lodge Independent Review Panel, 2011). While the review was couched in terms of ensuring that the Trust was balancing its management objectives for the estate, it is unlikely that it would have gone to the trouble and expense of setting it up had it not been subject to accusations that it was threatening the dominant hunting culture.

It seems likely, therefore, that attempts to encourage neoliberal economic development in peripheral areas where hunting occurs must reckon with the friction that can be generated by their dominant hunting culture. Thus, we echo the conclusion drawn by Brennan et al. (2009: 109-10) from their study of community development in Ireland and the USA: '[i]gnoring culture's critical role may hamstring development efforts, rendering them little more than short-term solutions for endemic rural problems'. However, taking seriously the role of hunting cultures in influencing certain types of economic policy in the northern periphery also leads us to problematise the cultural-geographical dichotomy between 'rural insider' and 'urban outsider'. This division has been a prominent feature of many hunting cultures' representations of themselves in public debate (see section one), and in explanations of, and the participation of

some hunters in, illegal activities such as poaching and the killing of wolves and raptors (see, e.g. Baines and Richardson, 2013: 1397-98; Gezelius, 2004; von Essen et al. 2015).

Exploring the links between hunting culture and economic development has revealed that dominant hunting cultures are not only exerting frictional resistance from within resource peripheries to economic and conservation policies that others are seeking to impose from without. Instead, it seems likely that, to a significant extent, hunters actively construct peripheral areas as a cultural and economic 'other' to the neoliberal polity that they, in other aspects of their lives, are part of. This is clearly the case with the owners of Scottish sporting estates. As early as the 1980s, 'it was reported that four-fifths of owners derived their income from elsewhere and therefore needed to be elsewhere for much of the time' (McKee et al. 2013: 66). Recent growth in overseas ownership of Scottish sporting estates, which now accounts for about eight per cent of all large rural landholdings (Wightman, 2010: 106 & 121), provides further evidence that sporting estate hunting culture is maintained by and for a highly internationalised socio-economic elite. Even in Finland, where hunting clubs remain locally-based, the proportion of hunters coming from outside the rural periphery is growing. For, while the total number of hunters is relatively stable, the rural population is declining and undergoing demographic ageing. Increasing numbers of hunters live away from their hunting grounds (e.g. inherited forests) and are therefore losing their connection with rural society. Thus, local hunting clubs, which have been highlighted as "some of the last social activities left in rural areas" (Keskinarkaus and Matilainen, 2010), are increasingly composed of and maintained by non-rural residents.

7 Conclusion

We draw two main conclusions from this study. First, it has demonstrated the importance of taking account of the role and influence of dominant hunting cultures on attempts to promote economic development in resource peripheries, especially where this may have an impact on the

game resource. Previous studies of hunting cultures have, as noted in section one, tended to concentrate on their importance in rural socialisation and as sources of resistance to conservation and animal welfare policies. By demonstrating the frictional resistance that they can exert on neoliberal economic development policies, this paper has shed light on a neglected aspect of hunting cultures.

Secondly, and more tentatively, we conclude that, rather than demonstrating the limits of neoliberalism, these northern peripheries are increasingly its deliberately constructed 'other'. Scotland's and Finland's dominant hunting cultures are predicated on, and have strong interests in maintaining, the peripherality of their peripheral areas. However, that maintenance is being undertaken, to a large extent in Scotland, and to a smaller but growing extent in Finland, by people whose lives are led, and wealth are earned, outside of peripheral areas; and who visit them primarily for hunting and other forms of recreation. In this, such flying visitors call to mind the English poet Ted Hughes' (1982: 43) portrait of another species of hunter:

'Nothing has changed since I began.
My eye has permitted no change.
I am going to keep things like this.'

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Endnotes

1. The main source of controversy appears to have been the Hunting Bill, passed into law in 2004, which banned hunting with dogs in England and Wales. In Scotland, the Protection of

Wild Mammals (Scotland) Act 2002 banned the hunting of wild mammals with dogs (q.v. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2002/6/section/1; accessed 14/6/17).

2. In this paper, commercial hunting tourism is use to describe paid-for hunting activities undertaken by non-residents.

3. A nominal exchange rate of £1 = €1.2 has been used.

4. The Scottish Government defines as 'remote rural' areas which are more than 30 minutes' drive from the nearest settlement with a population of at least 10,000 (National Statistics, 2011: 5).

5. Dating from the reign of Queen Victoria, 1837-1901.

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